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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 EB-07 /080 W
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R 011512Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8962
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
ZE VXAMCONSUL KRAKOW
AMCONSUL POZNAN
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 4638

BELGRADE ALSO FOR CSCE DEL

EO 11652GDS
TAGS: PINT, EAGR, ECON, PL
SUBJ: PARTY LEADERSHIP ON THE ECONOMY HUMAN, HUMAN RIGHTS

1. SUMMARY: IN MAJOR SPEECHES AT THE FINAL MEETING OF THE SPRING SESSION OF THE SEJM ON JUNE 30, PREMIER JAROSZEWICZ GAVE A SOBER PRESENTATION OF THE ECONOMIC TASKS FACING POLAND, WHILE PZPR FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK VIGOROUSLY DEFENDED HIS PARTY'S INTERPRETATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. END SUMMARY.

2. JAROSZEWICZ SAID "THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK" FACING POLAND WAS REALIZATION OF THOSE PARTS OF THE 1976 PLAN RELATING TO
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FOOD SUPPLIES. DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS POLAND WAS FORCED TO BUY 17 MILLION TONS OF
GRAIN AND FODDER ABROAD, 3 MILLION TONS OF WHICH CAME FROM THE SOVIET UNION. OF THE 14 MILLION TONS PURCHASED IN THE WEST, 7 MILLION TONS WERE BROUGHT IN 1976 AT A COST OF OVER A BILLION DOLLARS. JAROSZEWICZ SAID THE DROP IN MEAT PRODUCTION OF 7 PERCENT IN 1976 CAUSED ADDITIONAL

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FOREIGN PURCHASES. HE SAID THE FIRST INDICATORS
FOR 1977 WERE STILL UNSATISFACTORY: DURING THE FIRST
QUARTER OF 1977, MEAT SUPPLIES WERE DOWN 8 PERCENT FROM THE
PREVIOUS YEAR AND, DESPITE PURCHASE OF 150,000 TONS OF MEAT AND
FATS ABORAD, MARKET SUPPLIES WERE DOWN 3 PERCENT. HE PRE-
DICTED SIMILAR RESULTS FOR THE THIRD QUARTER.

3. JAROSZEWICZ PRAISED OTHER BRACHES OF THE ECONOMY,
PARTICULARLY THE COAL INDUSTRY, FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLISH
EXPORTS WHICH EASED THE OVRALL BALANCE OF PAYMENTS. HE
SAID THAT THE ECONOMIC MANEUVER ANNOUNCED IN DECEMBER, 1976,
DESIGNED TO PROVIDE MORE MARKET GOODS, HAD RESULTED IN MARKET
SUPPLIES AT A LEVEL 15 PERCENT HIGHER DURING THE FIRST FIVE
MONTHS OF 1977 THAN DURING THE SAME PERIOD IN 1976.

4. JAROSZEWICZ DEFENDED LAST YEAR'S PRICE-RISE PROPOSALS
AS A CONSIDERED PLAN TO GUARANTEE MARKET EQUILIBRIUM IN
THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING PEOPLE. HE SAID THAT SOCIETY WAS
EXPERIENCING THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH RESULTED FROM THE
WITHDRAWAL OF THE PROPOSALS. HE REMINDED
THE SEJM THAT COSTS OF PRODUCTION CONTINUED TO RISE IN
POLAND AND ABROAD. HE SAID THAT PRESENT MARKET DIFFI-
CULTIES WERE FURTHER AGGRAVATED BY THE 13 BILLION ZLOTY WAGE
INCREASE OF JUNE 1, 1976, AND THE DROP IN SAVINGS AND
INCREASED SPECULATION WHICH FOLLOWED IN THE THIRD QUARTER.
INCREASED FISCAL DISCIPLINE AND LABOR PRODUCTIVITY,
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HE SAID, WOULD BE NEEDED TO FULFILL THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN.

5. FOLLOWING JAROSZEWICZ, GIEREK MADE A SPIRITED DEFENSE
OF HIS INTERPRETATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, CALLING FOR THE
"MORAL-POLITICAL UNITY" OF THE NATION AS THE MAIN WAY TO
ACHIEVE NATIONAL SUCCESS. HE STRESSED THE FOLLOWING:
A) THE RULE OF LAW - IN MARCH, 1977, THE PZPR PRESIDIUM
UNDERTOOK MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE SOCIALIST
LEGALYSTEM AT ALL LEVELS. THE STATE CONSISTENTLY
RESPECTS THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOWM OF
CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION. EVERYONE SHOULD TAKE CARE TO
PRESERVE THE GOOD NATIONAL TRADITIONS OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.
B) HUMAN RIGHTS - THE POLISH CONSTITUTION GIRANTEES THE
RIGHT TO WORK, THE RIGHT TO HEALTH CARE, THE RIGHT TO FREE
EDUCATION, THE RIGHT TO A DWELLING, AND THE RIGHT TO PEACEFUL
RETIREMENT.

THE PARTY'S PROGRAM AIMS AT THESE GOALS. DIFFI-
CULTIES ARISE, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF HOUSING, AND
HEALTH CARE, BUT THE PRIORITIES ARE WELL-ESTABLISHED. THE
POLISH EXPERIENCE PROVES THAT, WITHOUT ECONOMIC INDE-
PENDENCE AND BASIC SOCIAL RIGHTS, ALL OTHER DECLARATIONS

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ABOUT EQUALITY AND FREEDOM HAVE A HOLLOW RING. FOR
THIS REASON, THE PRESENT SYSTEM SHOULD BE DEFENDED AGAINST
EXPLOITATION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY FOR ANTI-POLISH AND
ANTI-SOCIALIST PURPOSES. THE "RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE" IS THE
MOST ELEMENTARY HUMAN RIGHT. POLAND KNOWS THIS FROM
BITTER EXPERIENCE, AND IS PROUD TO BE IN THE MAINSTREAM
OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

6. COMMENT. IF IMITATION IS THE SINCEREST FORM OF FLATTERY,
EDWARD GIEREK IS PAYING HIS COMPLIMENTS TO JIMMY CARTER,
RATHER THAN TO BORIS PONOMAREV. GIEREK ONCE GAIN HAS APPEALED
TO THE PATROTIC AND MORALISTIC SENTIMENTS OF THE POPULATION
AS THE WAY TO OVERCOME POLAND'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND
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TO BYPASS THE QUESTION OF INTERNAL DISSIDENCE.
GIEREK IGNORES DISSIDENTS, BUT AT LEAST INDIRECTLY
ACKNOWLEDGES THEIR COMPLAINTS IN THE PASSAGES OF HIS SPEECH
ASSERTING RESPECT FOR THE POLISH CONSSITUTION
AND THE TRADITION OF TOLERANCE. THESE ARE THE TACTICS WHICH
BROUGHT HIM TO POWER IN 1971. WE ARE REMINDED OF THIS BY
THE LEAD "POLITYKA" ARTICLE IN 1971, ASSERTING A NEW ROLE FOR
THE PARTY
AS THE INSPIRATION FOR ALL SOCIAL CLASSES. HE ALSO
WARNS THOSE WHO DESIRE A MORE AUTHORITARIAN STYLE OF GOVERN-
MENT THAT OBSERVANCE OF THE RULE OF LAW IS PARTY POLICY.

7. GIEREK ATTEMPTS TO REDEFINE THE CORE OF THE HUMAN-RIGHTS
CONTROVERSY-- THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL AGAINST THE POWER OF THE
STATE--AS THE RIGHT OF ALL TO BENEFIT FROM PUBLIC POLICY.
THIS IS AN ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT FEAT IN A COUNTRY WITH
EXTREMELY STRONG TRADITIONS OF INDIVIDUALISM. IN SO
DOING, GIEREK SEEKS TO UNDERMINE THE APPEAL OF DISSIDENTS
IN POLAND, TO CUT AWAY THEIR COMMON GROUND WITH THE MASS
OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. HIS ATTEMPT IS IN SHARP CONTRAST
TO PONOMAREV'S SHART ATTACK ON SOVIET DISSIDENTS IN THE JULY
ISSUE OF "WORLD MARXIST REVIEW." GIEREK'S SPEECH PROVIDES ADDI-
TIONAL EVIDENCE THAT POLAND WILL DEAL IN ITS OWN WAY WITH POLISH
DISSIDENCE.

8. JAROSZEWICZ'S ECONOMIC NEWS IS BLEAK AND MAY HAVE A
GREATER EFFECT ON THE WORKERS THAN GIERK'S ENUMERATION OF
ACHIEVEMENTS, AND EXHORTATIONS. WHAT CLEARLY EMERGES
FROM BOTH SPEECHES, HOWEVER, IS THE FACT THAT THE PZPR LEADERSHIP
CONTINUES COMMITTED TO A MODERATE APPROACH TO THE COUNTRY'S
PROBLEMS AND THE REGIME'S CRITICS. END COMMENT.

DAVIES
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